[CONTINUED FROM FIRST FAGE.]

ern men on that bench; and I say, sir, that the South has always controlled the policy of this Government. I think the honorable Senator from Kentucky was magmanimous enough the other day, in his speech, to acknowledge this. Not only the legislative but the judicial power has always been in the hands of the South. If the question was asked to day, of the most ordinary or the most astute observer of passing events, who it is of all men that has had the most to do to control and shape the policy of this Government, and make it what it is, the answer would be that it is the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. CALHOUN,] who makes this charge. Did he not tell us, with the modesty which always belongs to him, and with the honesty and truth which characterize him, that he more than any other man effected the acquisition of Texas to this country? He was then a private citizen. If he could, in perfect consistency with historical truth, say that he more than any one else effected that great act, by which that country was annexed and made a part and parcel of our own, else effected that great act, by which that country was annexed and made a part and parcel of our own, what must have been his influence while he occupied a seat in the other House in the pride of his power, or when for eight years he was at the head of the Department of War, and for six years filled the chair which you now occupy, if he could thus control public policy in his retirement? No, sir, great and commanding as has been the influence of other gentlemen in the conneils of this nation, if there be any one man who has stamped upon its character and features the impress of his thoughts and purposes, that man is the honorable Senator from South Carolina, who addressed the Senate the other day on this subject. But now he comes in and other day on this subject. But now he comes in and files a bill of indictment against the North for doing that which all along they have resisted and remon-

strated against.

The next part of the speech to which I wish to "Nevertheless, as small and contemptible as the party then was, both of the great parties of the North dreaded them. They felt that, though small, they were organized in reference to a subject which had a great and commanding influence over the Northern mind. Each party, on that account, feared to oppose their petitions, lest the opposite party should take advantage of the one who might do so, by favoring their petitions, should be received, and that Congress should take jurisdiction of the subject for which they prayed."

And speaking on the subject in another part of the speech, on the 8th page, he says:

"And Congress is invoked to do all this expressly with the view to the final abolition of slavery in the States. That has been avowed to be the ultimate object from the beginning of the agitation until the present time; and yet the great body of both parties of the North, with the full knowtedge of the fact, although disavowing the abolitionists, have co-operated with them in almost all their measures."

is have co-operated with them in almost all their measures."

If I understand this, sir, it is a distinct avowal that the abolition movement has been received with public favor from the commencement, by both parties, in both Houses of Congress, from the North, and at home. I undertake to say that a declaration more at war with the truth of history could not possibly be affirmed in language. The Abolitionists, instead of being received with public favor at the North, by either party, have been denounced in every possible form in which language could denounce them. The meetings which they have holden in public places have been broken in upon by lawless mobs. They have been driven from the places where they had accommodate for the exercise of a constitutional right, and to such an extent had this spirit progressed, that the buildings in which they had assembled, and had been peaces of exercising the rights of cliticens, under the Constitution, have been, in at least one instance, burnt to the ground by a mob. I don't refer to these matters for the purpose of re-opening any wounds that may have been healed up by the southing influence of time, but I do contend that, if the Semate means to do justice, and the country means to do justice, it is necessary and right that the truth upon this subject should be made known.

Sir, there never has been a sect that has arisen since the Christian era, that has been met at every turn on every hand, on every side, and by all parties.

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THE NATIONAL ERA, WASHINGTON, D. C., A.

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such Stephensber H. 1921, each by V. Stephensber M. 1921, the stephensb

iones have hitherto supported with a solicitude worthy of a better object, and her citizens by their practice countemanced.

"Founded in a disgraceful traffe, to which the parent country lent her fostering aid, froza motives of interest, but which ever she would have disdained to encourage, had fingland been the desgined mart of such interest, but which ever she would have disdained to encourage, had fingland been the desgined mart of such interest, whose selfish souls continuance is as shameful size of the souls conditioned in the bandoned miscreants, whose selfish souls could ever prompt them to rob unbappy Africa of her sons, and freight them hither by thousands, to poison the fair Eilen of liberty with the rank weed of individual bondage! Not is it more to the credit of our succestors that they did not command those savage spoilers to bear their hateful cargo to another shore, where the shrine of freedom knew no votaries, and every purchaser would at once be both a master and a slave.

"In the dawn of time, Mr. Speaker, when the rough feelings of barbarism had not experienced the softening touches of refinement, such an unprincipled prostration of the inherent rights of human nature would have needed the gloss of an apology; but, to the exercisating reproach of Maryland, let it said, that tehen her citizens rivalled the nation from whence they emigrated in the knowledge of moral principles, and an enthusiasm in the cause of general freedom, they stoopen to become the processing secretaion.

"For my own part, I would willingly draw the veil of oblivion over this diagnisting seene of iniquity, but that the present adject state of those who are descended from these kidnapped sufferers perpetually brings it forward to the memory.

"But wherefore should we confine the edge of censure

Resent adjusted to the second of the second from the second from the memory.

"But wherefore should we confine the edge of censure to our succestors, or those from whom they purchased? Arr not we requestly offer." I they strewed around the seeds of slavery, we cherish and bustling the seeds of slavery, we cherish and bustling the sometimes of slavery, we cherish and bustling invitorial test. They introduced the system, we entain successfully the constitution of the mask; it is a cobwed one at best, and the world will see through it. It will not do, thus to taik like philosophers, and act like unrelenting tyrants; to be perspetually eermonicing it, with liberty for our test, and actual oppuression for our commentary.

"Survey the countries, sir, where the hand of freedom conducts the ploughshare, and compare their produce with yours. Your granaries, in this view, appear like the storehouses of emmets, though not supplied with equal industry. To trace the cause of this disparity between the fruits of a freeman's voluntary labors, animated by the hope of profit, and the slow-paced efforts of a slave, who acts from compusion only, who has no incitement to exertion but fear, no prospect of remuneration to encourage, would be insulting the understanding. The cause and the effect are too obvious to escape observation.

freeman's voluntary labors, animated by the hope of profit, and the slow-paced efforts of a slave, who acts from compulsion only, who has no incitement to exertion but fear, no prospect of remuneration to encourage, would be insulting the understanding. The cause and the effect are too obvious to escape observation.

The exerension of civil slaves over to alam us, in truth, we are the only nation upon earth that ever considered 'manumission' as a ground of apprehension, or street and the slaves of the constitution, and carefully guarding against abuses, I will say, with regard to the subject which was up a few moments since, whenever a bill can be framed honestly to carry out all these obligations of the Constitution, and carefully guarding against abuses, I will consent to carry out all these obligations in good faith; but good faith does not require that the rights of the States shall be perverted to enable persons to carry into effect the purpose of recapturing fugitive slaves. It should be remembered that where the interests of liberty should be preserved, protected, and guarded; and it is the duty of the Senate and of the National Legislature to protect and guard those rights of freedom.

Now, sir, with a single word about this general question, I leave the subject. My purpose and aim have been, not to throw any apple of discord into the Senate, or to excite any angry feelings; but when an attempt was made by the Senator from South Carolina to give, with all the authority attached to his great name and reputation, an historical account of the manner in which this subject had arisen and had been treated, and when I saw in that historical account great injustice had been done, as I thought, I considered that a sense of duty required me, according to the measure of my feeble abilities, to correct it, and attempt to do it justice. I have no purpose and no desire to say or do anything that may be exciting, or wound the feelings of anybody. The honorable Senator from North Carolina, [Mr. Badocal, in his appeal t

tinental Confederacy to every inch of territory which we then owned, and that there has never been a Territorial bill different from this, down to the organization of the Oregon Territory, in which the right and the power of Congress to legislate upon this very subject of slavery has not been introduced and acted upon undisputed. Now, if gentlemen from the Southern States will do this, if they will put the history of Government right before their own constituency upon this subject, they will do more to aliay the agitation there than the whole North can possibly do. What is asked of the North can possibly do. What is asked of the North can possibly do. What is asked of the North? They are asked not only to abandon the policy under which the Constitution was framed, but the honorable Senator from South Carolina, speaking for the South upon this subject, comes forward, and not only wants us to abandon it—to abandon all that we have done under the Constitution—but to give up the Constitution itself. That is what we are very modestly asked to do. He says: "Is it not then certain, that if something decisive is not now done to arrest it, the South will have to choose between abalition and secession?" What is to be done? The honorable Senator from South Carolina requires the insertion of a provision in the Canstitution which will restore to the South the power which she possessed to protect heraelf. This, sir, is the very modest concession we are called upon to make; we are not only to give up the whole policy of legislation under which we have lived for sixty years, but we are to give up the Constitution itself, and insert a provision that shall forever maintain the equilibrium intended to be established. Sir, ingenuity is at fault when it comes to speculate upon the character of this proposed amendment.

Mr. Inge called for the regular order of business.

Mr. Preston King offered the following resolution, it being a privileged motion:

Resolved, That all debate in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union on the bill to admit the State of California into the Union, printed by order of the House, and now under consideration in said Committee, shall cease at—o'clock on——, (if the Committee shall not sooner come to a conclusion upon the same;) and the Committee shall then proceed to vote on such amendments as may be pending or offered to the same, and shall then report it to the House, with such amendments as may have been agreed to by the Committee.

The Speaker stated that the resolution, in the form in which it was offered, was not in order as a privileged question. A resolution to close debate on the message of the President, transmitting the Constitution of California, would be in order, but a resolution to stop debate on the bill to admit California as a State into the Union was not in order, because that bill had originated in

not in order, because that bill had originated in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and therefore the House had no cognizance of it. Any matter referred to the Committee by the House, the House had cognizance of the House had never referred this bill to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and therefore had no cognizance of it.

Mr. Preston King was stating his object in moving the resolution, which was to get the message and hill in the House for the purpose of ob-

sage and bill in the House for the purpose of ob-

taining a direct vote on it by yeas and nays, without connection with other matters; when
The Speaker reminded the gentleman that debate was not in order.
After a conversation between Mr. King and the Speaker,
Mr. P. King stated that if debate was not in

Mr. P. King stated that if debate was not in order on the resolution, he would raise a question of privilege. He charged that the question of order now made by the Speaker was an after-thought and an artifice to accomplish a purpose. On the 13th instant he had presented a resolution similar to this. His object was to bring the House to a direct vote. He charged that the Journal of Monday, the 13th instant, had been mutilated. He was further stating his object in offering his resolution of the 13th instant, when Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, rose to a question of order: that the gentleman from New York must state his question of privilege, debate being out of order.

Mr. King stated that his privileged question

forder.

Mr. King stated that his privileged question was, that the Journal had been mutilated; and that he was informed that the mutilation had

been done by the Speaker.

The Speaker inquired the gentleman's author ity.

Mr. King stated that he had been so informed

Mr. King stated that he had been so informed by the assistant clerk.

The Speaker said that he understood the gentleman from New York to charge the Speaker with mutilating the Journal of the House by changing a resolution of the House, after it had been acted on by the House, and requested the gentleman to reduce his charge to writing.

Mr. King charged that the Journal of the House had been mutilated by striking out a motion that he did make, and inserting one that he did not make.

did not make.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, insisted that the gentleman should state what motion he made, and what motion had been substituted for the one he

what motion had been substituted for the one he did make.

[Mr. Cobb, the Speaker of the House, here left the chair, and called Mr. Winthrop to perform its duties.]

Mr. King then stated in what manner the Journal had been changed. The resolution which he had offered to the House was to close debate on the California bill; and the Speaker had inserted, in place of the California bill, the message of the President.

The Speaker stated that the Manual provided that, when the Journal had been changed, a committee should be appointed to investigate it.

mittee should be appointed to investigate it.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, said that, before
such a committee was formed, the parliamentary
rule required the gentleman to state what motion
had been effaced, and what motion had been substituted.
Mr. King asked that the Journal of that day

might be brought in.

After further debate by Messrs. P. King, Mc-Lane of Md., Morse, Stephens of Ga., and Shenck,
Mr. P. King reduced his charge to writing, as follows:

"I charge that the Journal of the House has "I charge that the Journal of that I did

"I charge that the Journal of the House has been mutilated by erasing a motion that I d'd make, and substituting, by interlineation, one that I did not make, in the Journal of the 13th instant. My motion was to close debs'te on the California bill; these words are changed, and message substituted."

Mr. King said that his motior, was to close the debate on the California bill. These words had been changed, and message substituted. He thought it an afterthought, and an artifice for the purpose of preventing the action of the House on the California bill.

The Journal of the 13th instant was here read. Mr. Holmes moved that a committee of five be appointed by the gentleman now presiding over the House [Mr. Winthrop] to investigate the charges made against the honorable Speaker by the honorable Preston King, a member of this House.

to protect herself. This, sir, is the very modest concession we are called upon to make; we are not only to give up the whole policy of legislation under which we have lived for sixty years, but we are to give up the Constitution itself, and insert a provision that shall forever maintain the equilibrium intended to be established. Sir, ingenuity is at fault when it comes to speculate upon the character of this proposed amendment.

Well, what is that amendment to be? Shall it be provided that the North shall not be populated any faster than the South? Or shall it provide that the voice of the slaveholding States, few as they may be, shall always be equal to that of the non-slaveholding States, however numerous and however much exceeding them in population? The Senator did not see fit to explain the nature of the amendment he proposed, but simply announced there must be some amendment made, without telling us what it was, as the price of the peace we are seeking. I look, then, upon it as a dissolution, so far as the settled opinions of that Senator are concerned, and that the time for which some of the sister States of South Carolina were not quite prepared fifteen years ago, has now come, and unless this important constitutional amendment is made by way of equilibrium, the South are prepared for secession, and that secention they will take, because he says they will be forced to choose between abolition and secession; and, indeed, as things are now moving, he thinks and, indeed, as things are now moving, he thinks and, indeed, as things are now moving, he thinks and, indeed, as things are now moving, he thinks and, indeed, as things are now moving, he thinks and, indeed, as things are now moving, he thinks and the proposed of the matter, I leave it, and With this exposition of the matter, I leave it, and